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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /ʔimʸi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

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The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ʔimʸi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pindalenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel points out that the Negro is merely his employee and nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked Cayapa women to dance with him at the fiesta in the Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental instability which is largely the result of interregnum

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uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /kuⁿɪ/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /kuⁿɪ/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /kuⁿɪ/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /kuⁿɪ/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /únʸi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /únʸi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

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Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organisation" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /unʸi/ takes the reins

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When a new /ún^{y}i/ takes the reins

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún^{y}i/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún^{y}i/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún^{y}i/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún^{y}i/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún^{y}i/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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